

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 10553

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, JA, CH, XE, KS,

SUBJ: SENATOR MANSFIELD'S CONVERSATION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER
MIYAZAWA

SUMMARY. FONMIN MIYAZAWA TOLD SENATOR MANSFIELD JULY 12

THAT JAPAN SATISFIED WITH STATUS QUO AS FAR AS US-CHINA

POLICY CONCERNED AND WARNED THAT NORMALIZATION OF

RELATIONS WITHOUT PEKING RENOUNCING FORCE ON TAIWAN

WOULD SUBJECT US TO CRITICISM IN ASIA. IN ADDITION,

HE PROVIDED HIS VIEWS ON LOCKHEED, KOREA, SINO-JAPANESE

RELATIONS, US BASES IN JAPAN, SOUTHEAST ASIA AFTER

VIETNAM, AND ARMS SALES TO OIL PRODUCERS.

PRESS TREATMENT BASED ON BACKGROUNDER PROVIDED

BY MIYAZAWA HIMSELF, FOCUSED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON

US-CHINA POLICY ISSUE, AND PUBLICIZED MIYAZAWA'S

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DOUBTS ABOUT NORMALIZATION FOR FIRST TIME. TIMING

OF PUBLICITY SEEMS DESIGNED TO GAIN MAXIMUM
ATTENTION IN US FOR JAPANESE VIEW. END SUMMARY.

1. MAIN POINTS OF FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA'S RESPONSE
TO SENATOR MANSFIELD'S QUESTIONS DURING JULY 12 CALL AT
FOREIGN MINISTRY AS FOLLOWS:

2. LOCKHEED
EFFECT OF SCANDAL ON US-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP HAS
BEEN MARGINAL. JAPANESE HAVE NO DOUBT ABOUT VALIDITY OF
RELATIONSHIP. GOJ IS SATISFIED THAT IT HAS RECEIVED ALL
RELEVANT MATERIALS FROM US.

3. KOREA
ASKED WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF GRADUAL REDUCTION
IN US FORCES IN KOREA OCCURED, MIYAZAWA SAID TIME MAY
COME WHEN US CAN PHASE OUT LAND FORCES, BUT HE DID NOT
BELEIVE ROK WOULD BE ABLE TO MATCH US AIR CAPABILITY.
ANY DRAWDOWN, MIYAZAWA HOPED WOULD BE GRADUAL AND THAT
JAPANESE WOULD BE CONSULTED. "NO SHOCKS, PLEASE."
MIYAZAWA SAID REPRESSIVE STYLE OF ROK GOVERNMENT
PRESENTED DIFFICULTIES FOR JAPAN AND HOPED THAT US WOULD
APPLY LEVERAG FOR CHANGE IN PRESIDENT PARK'S INTERNAL
POLICY BY THREATENING TO REDUCE APPROPRIATIONS. SENATOR
MANSFIELD AGREED THAT ROK DOMESTIC POLICY WAS PROBLEM IN
US, TOO. US HAD TRIED TO PRESSURE PARK, AND HOPED TO BRING
ABOUT CHANGE IN ROK POLICY. PROBLEM EVEN MORE SERIOUS FOR
JAPAN IN VIEW OF PROXIMITY OF KOREA AND PRESENCE OF LARGE
KOREAN MINORITY IN JAPAN. MIYAZAWA REPLIED THAT JAPAN'S
PAST TREATMENT OF KOREA RENDERED COUNTERPRODUCTIVE
MOST ADVICE JAPAN MIGHT OFFER TO THE ROK. JAPANESE
OPPOSITION PARTIES WANT GOJ TO DO MORE, BUT LATENT
ANTI-JAPANESE FEELING IN ROK MAKES THIS IMPOSSIBLE.

4. SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS
ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE STILL BLOCKS CONCLUSION OF
PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY. MIYAZAWA HAD MADE IT
"ABUNDANTLY CLEAR" TO CHINESE AT UN LAST SEPTEMBER THAT
JAPAN WOULD NOT OPPOSE INCLUSION OF ANTI-HEGEMONY
CLAUSE IN MAIN BODY OF TREATY PROVIDED THAT INCLUSION
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WOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED AS SINO-JAPANESE "CONSPIRACY"
AIMED AT SOVIET. PRC FONMIN CHIAO KUAN HUA AT LEAST
UNDERSTOOD CLEARLY WHAT MIYAZAWA HAD SAID IN NEW YORK,
AND AT THAT TIME MIYAZAWA FELT THERE WAS A 50-50 CHANCE OF
PROGRESS ON TREATY. THE DEATH OF CHOU EN-LAI AND OTHER
EVENTS IN CHINA HAVE OCCURED IN THE MEANTIME AND NOW
IT APPEARS THAT THE CHINESE WOULD RATHER HAVE NO TREATY
AT ALL THAN ACCEPT JAPANESE INTERPRETATION OF ANTI-HEGEMONY

CLAUSE.

MIYAZAWA FELT THAT AFTER MAO'S DEATH CHINESE WOULD FORM COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP WHICH WOULD BE EQUIVALENT OF "NO LEADERSHIP AT ALL." MODERATES UNDER HUA KUO-FEND WOULD ULTIMATELY TAKE OVER BUT NOT UNTIL AFTER FIERCE, POSSIBLY ARMED STRUGGLE BETWEEN CONTENDING ELEMENTS. MIYAZAWA SAW NO PROSPECT OF RAPPROCHMENT BETWEEN PRC AND USSR. CHINESE NEED THREAT IF NOTHING ELSE FOR DOMESTIC PURPOSES.

5. US BASES IN JAPAN

WHEN SENATOR ASKED FOREIGN MINISTER WHETHER US HAS TOO MANY BASES IN JAPAN, MIYAZAWA PLEADED IGNORANCE OF MILITARY MATTERS AND SAID JAPANESE HAD CONFIDENCE THAT WHATEVER US SAID WAS ADEQUATE AND NECESSARY WAS IN FACT THE CASE. THE MAIN POLITICAL PROBLEM STEMS FROM FACT THAT BASES CONCENTRATED IN OKINAWA, WHERE THEN PERCENT OF AREA OCCUPIED BY US INSTALLATIONS. THIS IS FINE FROM STANDPOINT OF MAINLAND BUT CAUSES POLITICAL TENSIONS IN OKINAWA. BEFORE REVERSION, OF COURSE, GOJ DID NOT HAVE TO COPE WITH PROBLEM, MIYAZAWA ADDED WITH SMILE. IN ANY CASE GOJ FULLY AWARE THAT BASES NECESSARY FOR DEFENSE OF JAPAN.

6. US-CHINA POLICY

ASKED HOW GOJ VIEWS FUTURE OF TAIWAN, MIYAZAWA TOLD SENATOR, "AS FAR AS JAPAN CONCERNED, STATUS QUO IS THE BEST." JAPAN HAS HIGH LEVEL OF TRADE WITH BOTH PRC AND TAIWAN, CIVIL TIES WITH BOTH, NORMALIZED RELATIONS WITH PEKING. ADMITTEDLY ATTITUDE WAS "SELFISH," BUT FACT THAT SECURITY OF TAIWAN GUARANTEED BY ARRANGMENT WITH US IS VERY SATISFACTORY TO JAPAN. FURTHERMORE, MIYAZAWA ADDED, SHOULD US CONFIDENTIAL

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MOVE TO HONOR SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, IT WILL BE CRITICIZED "FOR GOING BACK ON ITS WORD" UNLESS ASSURANCE GAINED THAT PEKING HAS RENOUNCED USE OF FORCE. SENATOR SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT PEKING ENVISAGED THE USE OF FORCE. MIYAZAWA AGREED.

7. SOUTHEAST ASIA

ASKED ABOUT EFFECTS OF FALL OF SAIGON ON REGION, MIYAZAWA SAID THAT MOMENTARY HYSTERIA (INCLUDING SOME IN JAPAN OVER IMPLICATIONS FOR KOREA) HAD GIVEN WAY TO ACCEPTANCE OF NEW FOUR POWER REALITIES. OPTIMISTS BELIEVE THAT HANOI WILL NOT BE AGGRESSIVE. NATIONAL RESILIENCE IS KEY TO DEFENSE AGAINST SUBVERSION. WHEN SENATOR ASKED WHETHER INCREASED ACTIVITY OF ASEAN WAS RESULT OF WAR'S END, MIYAZAWA AGREED THAT FALL OF

SAIGON HAD GIVEN ORGANIZATION NEW START. AFTER TRACING STEPS GOJ FOLLOWED IN ESTABLISHING RELATIONS WITH HANOI, MIYAZAWA CITED FOOD SUPPLIES AND INFRASTRUCTURE BUILDING AS VIETNAM'S FIRST PRIORITIES NOW. MAJOR QUESTION IN GOJ RELATIONS IS WHETHER NEW GOVERNMENT WILL HONOR US \$30 MILLION DEBT OWED GOJ BY SAIGON GOVERNMENT. MOST JAPANESE EXCEPT OFFICERS OF MINISTRY OF FINANCE HAVE GIVEN UP DEBT AS LOST. WHATEVER OUTCOME OF THAT ISSUE, JAPAN WILL TRY TO EXERT WHATEVER LEVERAGE ITS ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE MAY PROVIDE TO BRING HANOI AND TOKYO CLOSER TOGETHER. SENATOR MANSFIELD SAID HE HOPES US WILL FOLLOW SAME STRATEGY, PUT PAST BEHIND IT, AND ESTABLISH FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH VIET NAM, LAOS AND CAMBODIA. MIYAZAWA ADDED THAT VIET NAM'S OPPORTUNITY TO ENTER UN WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL AFTER US ELECTIONS. MANSFIELD REPLIED THAT US GROUNDS FOR OPPOSITION TO TWO VIET NAMS ENTERING WORLD BODY NO LONGER EXISTED.

8. ARMS SALES TO OIL PRODUCERS
RECOGNIZING COMPLICATIONS OF QUESTION AND COMPETITION FROM OTHER SUPPLIERS, MIYAZAWA SAID THAT MASSIVE US ARMS SALES TO OIL RICH COUNTRIES WERE DETRIMENTAL TO PROMOTION OF PEACE AND ECONOMIC REHABILITATION OF WORLD. THE OIL RICH COUNTRIES ARE SQUANDERING THEIR PETRODOLLARS ON NON-PRODUCTIVE MILITARY
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HARDWARE. INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT NEEDED FOR RESTRAINT AMONG SUPPLIERS. SENATOR AGREED AND ADDED THAT CONGRESS HAD TAKEN NOTE OF SITUATION. NEW LEGISLATION DEMANDS THAT CONGRESS BE NOTIFIED OF SALES OVER US \$25 MILLION WITHIN 30 DAYS. LAW ALSO STIPULATES THAT SUPPLIERS GET TOGETHER TO DISCUSS LIMITS.
MEETING CLOSED WITH STRONG STATEMENTS ON BOTH SIDES OF IMPORTANCE OF US-JAPAN ALLIANCE.

9. COMMENT. PRESS TREATMENT OF MEETING, BASED ON BACKGROUNDER BY MIYAZAWA HIMSELF, FOCUSED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON US-CHINA POLICY ISSUE AND WENT BEYOND WHAT ACTUALLY SAID. PRESS REPORTED MIYAZAWA TELLING MANSFIELD THAT JAPAN DOES NOT WANT US AND CHINA TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IN A WAY THAT WOULD CREATE A DRASTIC CHANGE IN THE PRESENT ASIAN SECURITY SITUATION. REPORTS SAID MIYAZAWA GAVE IMPRESSION IT WOULD NOT BENEFIT US TO NORMALIZE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH PEKING BY UNILATERALLY SEVERING US-TAIWAN SECURITY ARRANGMENT. IMPRESSION ALSO GAINED THAT RAPID NORMALIZATION WOULD HARM DELICATE BALANCE VIS-A-VIS SOVIET UNION IN WESTERN PACIFIC.

WHAT MIYAZAWA ACTUALLY SAID TO MANSFIELD
NOTHING NEW. HIS SATISFACTION WITH STATUS QUO ON
CHINA POLICY AND CONCERN OVER FUTURE CONSEQUENCES OF
NORMALIZING RELATIONS WITH PEKING HAS BEEN CLEAR
SINCE RICHARDSON VISIT IN JUNE. PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMTN
OF FONMIN'S POSITION AND ATTENDANT EMBROIDARY
IS NEW, HOWEVER. POSSIBLE MOTIVATIONS ARE MANY BUT TIMING OF
PUBLICITY AND CHOICE OF CONVERSATION TO PUBLICIZE SEEMS
DESIGNED AMONG OTHER REASONS TO GAIN MAXIMUM ATTENTION
IN US FOR JAPAN'S VIEWS ON SUBJECT.
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